

United States Senate

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AGING

September 10, 2009

Admiral Mike Mullen  
Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff  
The Pentagon

Dear Admiral Mullen:

With this letter, I am enclosing copies of letters which I sent to Secretary Gates, Secretary Clinton, Director Blair and Director Panetta.

As the process moves along, I would like to have an opportunity to discuss some of these issues with you.

My best.

Sincerely,



Arlen Specter

AS/ph

Enclosures

*Via Facsimile*


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Honorable Robert M. Gates  
Secretary of Defense  
Department of Defense  
Washington, D.C.

September 9, 2009

Dear Secretary Gates 

Congress will be called upon to make important decisions on the war in Afghanistan, whether there is a realistic prospect of succeeding there, and the importance of Afghanistan in stopping al Qaeda from again attacking the United States. In a related matter, in evaluating foreign aid to Pakistan, Congress needs to know whether Pakistan could be persuaded to aid us in fighting the Taliban. In retrospect, important judgments were made on Iraq without sufficient accurate, factual information. I write to you, the Secretary of State, the Director of National Intelligence and the Director of the CIA (copies enclosed) on related issues within their purview.

- Is U.S. success in Afghanistan critical in stopping al Qaeda from maintaining a base to plan and facilitate another attack on the United States?
- What are the prospects for military success in Afghanistan against the Taliban?
- What will the requirements be in the next year as to additional U.S. troops and the cost of our involvement in Afghanistan?
- What may we reasonably expect NATO or other allies to contribute in troops and dollars to our efforts in Afghanistan?
- What will be done besides military action, such as nation-building, in stabilizing and developing Afghanistan so that they will be prepared to handle their own problems so that we can withdraw?
- What assistance can we reasonably expect from Pakistan in fighting the Taliban and stopping the Taliban from seeking refuge by moving in and out of Pakistan?
- How does the questionable legitimacy of President Karzai's status as a result of allegations or proof of election fraud impact on our ability to succeed in Afghanistan?
- How does the illegal drug trafficking and alleged involvement of high-ranking officials in the Karzai government in such drug trafficking impact on our efforts in Afghanistan?

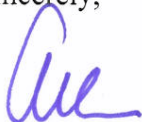
Honorable Robert M. Gates

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September 9, 2009

Thank you for your consideration of this request. I am available to meet with you or your designee for a briefing on these questions.

Sincerely,



Arlen Specter

AS/ph

Enclosures

cc: Secretary Hillary Clinton  
Director Dennis Blair  
Director Leon Panetta

*Some of these  
matter may soon  
be before the  
Appropriations Defense  
Subcommittee on  
which I serve*

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Honorable Hillary Rodham Clinton  
Secretary of State  
Washington, D.C.

September 9, 2009

Dear Secretary Clinton:

Congress will be called upon to make important decisions on the war in Afghanistan, whether there is a realistic prospect of succeeding there, and the importance of Afghanistan in stopping al Qaeda from again attacking the United States. In evaluating foreign aid to Pakistan, Congress needs to know whether Pakistan could be persuaded to aid us in fighting the Taliban. In retrospect, important judgments were made on Iraq without sufficient accurate, factual information.

I am writing to the Secretary of Defense, the Director of National Intelligence and Director of the CIA (copies enclosed) to obtain information principally on military and intelligence matters. My inquiries to you are principally on foreign relation issues involving Afghanistan, Pakistan and India.

In August 1995, Senator Hank Brown and I were told by Prime Minister Rao in a visit to New Delhi that India was interested in negotiating with Pakistan to make their subcontinent free of nuclear weapons. Prime Minister Rao asked Senator Brown and me to raise this issue with Pakistan's Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto which we did. I then wrote to President Clinton urging him to broker such negotiations. Those discussions are summarized in a letter which I sent to President Clinton:

Dear Mr. President:

August 28, 1995

I think it important to call to your personal attention the substance of meetings which Senator Hank Brown and I have had in the last two days with Indian Prime Minister Rao and Pakistan Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

Prime Minister Rao stated that he would be very interested in negotiations which would lead to the elimination of any nuclear weapons on his subcontinent within ten or fifteen years including renouncing first use of such weapons. His interest in such negotiations with Pakistan would cover bilateral talks or a regional conference which would include the United States, China and Russia in addition to India and Pakistan.

When we asked Prime Minister Bhutto when she had last talked to Prime Minister Rao, she said that she had no conversations with him during her tenure as Prime Minister. Prime Minister Bhutto did say that she had initiated a contact through an intermediary but that was terminated when a new controversy arose between Pakistan and India.

From our conversations with Prime Minister Rao and Prime Minister Bhutto, it is my sense that both would be very receptive to discussions initiated and brokered by the United States as to nuclear weapons and also delivery missile systems.

I am dictating this letter to you by telephone from Damascus so that you will have it at the



Honorable Hillary Rodham Clinton

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September 9, 2009

earliest moment. I am also telefaxing a copy of this letter to Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

Sincerely,

Arlen Specter

After returning to the United States, I discussed such a presidential initiative with President Clinton, but my suggestion was not pursued.

If the current tensions and hostilities between India and Pakistan could be eliminated or reduced, Pakistan might be persuaded to increase its military forces to aid us in the fight against the Taliban. I urge you and your Department to undertake an initiative to broker a peace treaty between India and Pakistan if you are not already doing so.

I am also interested in your view as to whether India poses a realistic threat to Pakistan which warrants Pakistan devoting military force to that potential threat, which diverts a military contribution which could aid the U.S. in our fight against the Taliban?

I am also interested in your view of a proposal for the U.S. to grant substantial foreign aid to Pakistan. I raise this question in the context of Pakistan's failure during President Musharaf's tenure to fulfill its commitments on the \$10 billion aid granted by the U.S. from September 11, 2001 to 2007. When Representative Patrick Kennedy and I raised this subject with President Musharaf in a December 2007 meeting in Islamabad, he gave a very unsatisfactory answer.

I am available to meet with you or your designee on these subjects.

Sincerely,



Arlen Specter

AS/ph  
Enclosures

cc: Secretary Robert M. Gates  
Director Dennis Blair  
Director Leon Panetta

*Some of these issues  
may soon be before  
the Appropriations Foreign  
Operations Subcommittee or  
the Appropriations  
Defense Subcommittee.  
I serve in both.*

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Honorable Leon Panetta  
Director,  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, D.C.

September 9, 2009

Dear Director *Leon* Panetta:

Congress will be called upon to make important decisions on the war in Afghanistan, whether there is a realistic prospect of succeeding there, and the importance of Afghanistan in stopping al Qaeda from again attacking the United States. In a related matter, in evaluating foreign aid to Pakistan, Congress needs to know whether Pakistan could be persuaded to aid us in fighting the Taliban. In retrospect, important judgments were made on Iraq without sufficient accurate, factual information. I write to you, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defense and the Director of National Intelligence (copies enclosed) to obtain that information.

- How important is Afghanistan to al Qaeda as a base for another attack on the U.S.?
- Does al Qaeda have other bases which would be sufficient for them to plan and facilitate another attack on the United States?
- What other areas are open to al Qaeda as potential bases for another attack on the United States?
- What does U.S. intelligence show as to any possible plans by al Qaeda to attack the United States or anyone else?
- What does U.S. intelligence show as to whether India poses a real threat to attack Pakistan?
- What does U.S. intelligence show as to whether Pakistan poses a real threat to attack India?
- What does U.S. intelligence show as to whether Pakistan could reasonably devote additional military force to assisting us in the fight against the Taliban?
- What does U.S. intelligence show as to whether the government of Pakistan or some influential officials in the Pakistani government would consider negotiating with India for reducing nuclear weapons or other confidence-building measures to defuse the tension with India if actively encouraged by the U.S. to do so?

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- What does U.S. intelligence show as to whether the government of India or some influential officials in the Indian government would consider negotiating with Pakistan for reducing nuclear weapons or other confidence-building measures to defuse the tension with Pakistan if actively encouraged by the U.S. to do so?
- What does U.S. intelligence show on the allegations that President Karzai and his associates acted fraudulently in the recent presidential elections?
- What does U.S. intelligence show on the allegations that President Karzai and his associates are involved in illegal narcotics activity?

I am writing an identical letter to Director of National Intelligence Dennis Blair.

Thank you for your consideration of this request. I am available to meet with you or your designee for a briefing on these questions.

Sincerely,



Arlen Specter

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cc: Secretary Hillary Rodham Clinton  
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Honorable Dennis C. Blair  
Director of National Intelligence  
Washington, D.C.

September 9, 2009

Dear Director Blair:

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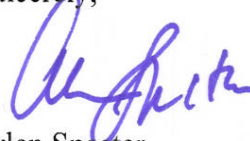


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